

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein
887 they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle.

• [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was
887 opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was
782 in the care of its leader.^a While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there
276 was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

^a We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

The Wonderful Watch

cular doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received⁷²⁷ it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen 'Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whirl and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and formally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned⁷²⁸ was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was conducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse²⁶² flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and very rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like³⁶¹ other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

Three Years Among the Comanches

●361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of [354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

342. The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard, [354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

The War Dance

north winds in the wintry season, and in hot and sultry³⁶¹ weather shade them from the sun.

I had remained in the chief's tent but a short time when⁷²⁷ I was again conducted to the square. There I found Aikens,⁵³⁵ Martin, and Stewart. It was soon revealed we were to "cut a conspicuous figure" in a war dance. We have among us frequent ideal representations of savage customs which are horrible enough, but the mind labors and struggles in vain to select from the wide range of our language the exact words that will properly describe an Indian war dance round a *real* captive. They came forth bedizened in their traps and feathers, their tomahawks and scalping knives in their uplifted hands, great daubs of red paint above and below their eyes, circling round and round us on a spasmodic trot, uttering their hoarse guttural songs, which seemed to flow up through their savage throats over sharp rifts of phlegm. As they proceeded, their pace, such as it was, accelerated, and their songs grew loud and louder, rising gradually from a monotonous grunt into a hideous and indescribable howl. Very often, some one of them, deserting his place, would dart towards us with his drawn hatchet threatening to brain us, while another would seize us by the hair and go through the pantomime of scalping. Thus, for two hours, they continued to sing and dance, and whoop and yell, flourishing their tomahawks and knives over us, until, at last they were compelled to stop from mere exhaustion. The captives were then separated, myself being⁷²⁷ led back to the chief's tent, where I was tied down to stakes in the manner before described. Four days had now passed without repose, but weary nature, at length, demanded rest, and I sank into a troubled sleep.



The Valley of Mannasaw—Indian agriculture—The watch again—Chemakacho, the good white man—The bloody covenant—Life in a Comanche camp—Hawakakeno, the wide river—Comanche horsemanship—Dressing the buffalo skin—Indian apparel—Supreme nastiness—Marriage—The mode of burial—The accursed white man—Comanche prophets—Religion of the savages—Manner of communicating intelligence—Festival of the roasted dog—Sahonkeno, the Fox—The green corn dance—The white women—Painting the face—Return of the war party—Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw.

On our arrival, which was welcomed with no demonstrations whatever, the squaws unpacked the mules, and immediately engaged in erecting the tents, with the same assiduity they exhibited in taking them down. In a few days, though an hundred miles distant, we were, to all appearances, occupying the same village, having the same square, and the same streets—which in fact we were, save that it was located on a different spot, and contained a population numbering about two hundred more.

The valley, also, was a "counterfeit presentment" of the one we had left behind, except the stream whereon we had encamped was wider, and the mountains round about seemed to have fallen back. It was called *Mannasaw*, laying a heavy accent on the last syllable, the meaning whereof I do not know.

Three Years Among the Comanches

turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

- 361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

127 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded
535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully



*Another bargain and sale—Arrival at the village of Rolling Thunder—Uniformity of Indian villages—Euphonious names of Rolling Thunder's wives—Renewal of the covenant of the square stick—The wisest of the wise—Married to To-ma-no-a-ku-no, the Sleek Otter—The Indian duel—Visit to the ruins—Volcanic eruptions—Ancient architecture—The Indian legend—Mounds on the tablelands—Departure for the Grand Council—Incidents by the way—
The tragical death of Rolling Thunder.*

727 The Rolling Thunder was a frequent visitor at our camp, subsequent to the time when he and his tribe accompanied us home from the buffalo hunt. He exhibited a regard for me, and would often fall into a profound revery, when Kianceta, the Weasel, had presented me the watch, and I had caused it to communicate intelligence from the Great Spirit in the usual, rattling offhand manner in which it was accustomed to converse. His interviews with the Spotted Leopard became so long, and, to all appearances, of such vast importance that I had no doubt I was to be subjected to another sale and assignment.

My surmises proved to be entirely correct. Just previous to the time when preparations are made for the annual [361] buffalo hunt, the Spotted Leopard and some of his distinguished warriors, Kianceta, and his other wives, with myself and a considerable drove of pack mules, set off over the mountains in all respect similar to those I had pre-

Arrival at Rolling Thunder's Village

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly performed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was solemnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friendship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege appertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-waw-ke-no*, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

The Comanches

- 133 The streams which led southeastward became highways for Comanche parties raiding the scattered and undefended Anglo-American settlements of Texas. The hills and breaks made it easy for them to strike and to escape with little danger of being apprehended from this quarter.

The Cross Timbers provided a sort of natural boundary on the east which the Comanches seldom passed. Along the margin, numerous weak, semi-sedentary groups of Indians for a time formed a barrier of sorts against white encroachment on the Comanche hunting grounds. From these tribes the Comanches obtained some vegetable products. North of the Red River the Five Civilized Tribes stood between the Comanches and the whites.

The Cheyennes and the Arapahos ranged the country north of the Arkansas River, making Comancheria fairly safe against white aggression from that direction. Moreover, white expansion was generally westward, not southward.

Such was Comancheria—a land ideally suited for a nomadic warrior people. And the Comanches were true warrior nomads. To them a sedentary existence was intolerable. Although a band normally confined its headquarters within a general area, within this area it was always on the move, and its principal encampment might be many miles from its location during the previous or the following year.

- 361 Before moving from one area to another, the camp or band headman (or war leader, if a raiding party) usually selected a familiar location which scouts had reported satisfactory. They understood how to select a site well-suited to their needs. The choice of a camp ground, even for a night, involved many factors. Primarily there were five considerations: food, shelter, safety, convenience, and forage for the horses. Colonel Richard I. Dodge relates that he once followed a Comanche raiding party for thirty days before he found a single camp site which he could have approached without discovery.²⁹

- 361 Among the Plains Indians there is evidence of some tribal differences in preferences for camp sites. The Sioux, who had a mortal dread of ambushade, preferred to camp near water but away from all timber; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, on the open prairie but near timber; the Osages, Omahas, and Shawnees, in a dense thicket. The

²⁹ Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 239.

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.³⁰

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.³¹ There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night.

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end

³⁰ W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

³¹ T. A. ("Doc") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106-107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Comanches*, 127-28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

The Comanches

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

[198]

619

"Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nəmənə*: I am of The People. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621

● 361

The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands. The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621

The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

64 *Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society*

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination revealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
● [361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

- 657 The early reservation days were largely times of turmoil and discontent. Rations were often scant and inferior, schools and hospital facilities were inadequate, and epidemics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas grazed their stock on reservation lands without payment or permission, and altercations between the Indians and U. S. troops were frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed that each family should be located on a piece of land on which they were to remain, and no Indian was allowed to leave the reservation without military escort—an injunction that was often disobeyed. Long before the Territory was opened to the flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx of prospectors, squatters, farmers, missionaries, traders, gamblers; liquor peddlers, adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.
- 657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but there was no sale for the wool and, the Indians were said to have disliked them so much that the idea had to be given up. Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians' teams were too weak to break the heavy sod and the plowing had to be done by Whites who continued to be hired as farmers. The first houses were built in 1877 and ten years later a number of churches were erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and cattle had replaced them on the ranges. "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men for grazing privileges, was instituted in 1885 and provided the chief source of tribal income. The Indian police were organized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court was established and functioned until 1900.
- 657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint delegations of reservation Indians went to Washington.
- 648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome Agreement" between the United States government and the Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians marked the end of reservation life and ushered in the modern period. Under its articles the Indians ceded their claims to the land formerly known as Indian Territory except one tract called "the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

The Comanches on the White Man's Road

15

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.²⁰ Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

²⁰ Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 213, and 1876, 22.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

290

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

[N. S., 31, 1929

175
648
721
sant war was to be made on the Apache.³ The Comanche conducted their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175
101
In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.⁴ Elsewhere in his reports⁵ Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado⁶ of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square. Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

175
361
105
162
621
113
³ Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.

122
The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

113
⁴ This *Noticia* is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this *Noticia* there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

⁵ Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

113
⁶ The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392-420).

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,⁷ then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.⁸ The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787-1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.⁹

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.¹⁰ It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

⁷ Informe de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas. Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104-6-23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

⁸ For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanasie de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780, 1: 79-122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89-90, 121-133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650-1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

⁹ H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129-133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

¹⁰ The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

/page 31 continued/

K course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger
361 people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school
342 or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable
clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison.

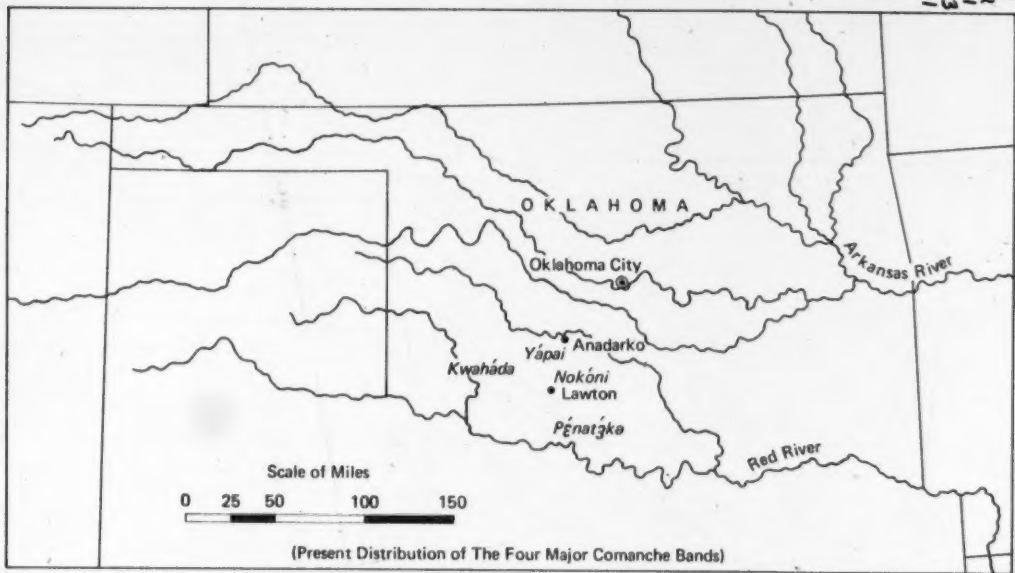
C
361 This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the
original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes
of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased
allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few
samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from
the Wermeyes who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko.
According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more dif-
ficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal.

K
[361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites
where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident
with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this
pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north.
Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their
comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may
be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples
to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in re-
spect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple
means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion
of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not
appear to be having significant results other factors (see first
report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

C
K
461 As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects
601 that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations
602 are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered
[443] by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This
[441] mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep
up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually
impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

101
102
131
133
341



[p. iv]

100 • THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ILLNESS

578 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche cul-
754 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were
561 at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigious activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
551 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone,
this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-
561 reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
356 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
578 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and
social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position
rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits
of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and
with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps
born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older
and economically more powerful woman could more successfully compete with a
younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a
561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
578 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche inform-
ants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and
her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose
children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree
of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the
act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
571 the same band became more isolated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that
band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the
reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the
[368] boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

361 There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in individual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The entrance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
[366]
[657] He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.
[452]

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman,
and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA

Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal
Trust Area

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

657
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657

Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423

Allotted: 229,926.04 acres

(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)

Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)

This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tipis. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans; they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

197
175
131
173
231
178
361
311
703
262
175
648

(657)